

Articles by W. C. Birthright, Jacob Potofsky, James Brownlow, Patrick Gorman and Stanley Ruffenberg

Social Work

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FEDERATIONIST

APRIL 1956
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BENSON'S ANTI-LABOR LINE

Story on Page 6

THE LOBBY PROBE

An Editorial by
GEORGE MEANY

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American

FEDERATIONIST

Official Monthly Magazine of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations

APRIL, 1956

GEORGE MEANY, Editor

Vol. 63, No. 4

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Automation

The rate of scientific and technological development in the United States is being greatly accelerated, resulting in rapidly increasing output per hour worked. These technological changes can be a blessing if wisely used, or they can result in unemployment and suffering if they are introduced and operated without proper social controls.

Automation has been heralded by some scientists as introducing the second industrial revolution. Whereas the first industrial revolution replaced human and animal muscle power with machines, automation tends to use electronic devices to replace human regulation and control of machines.

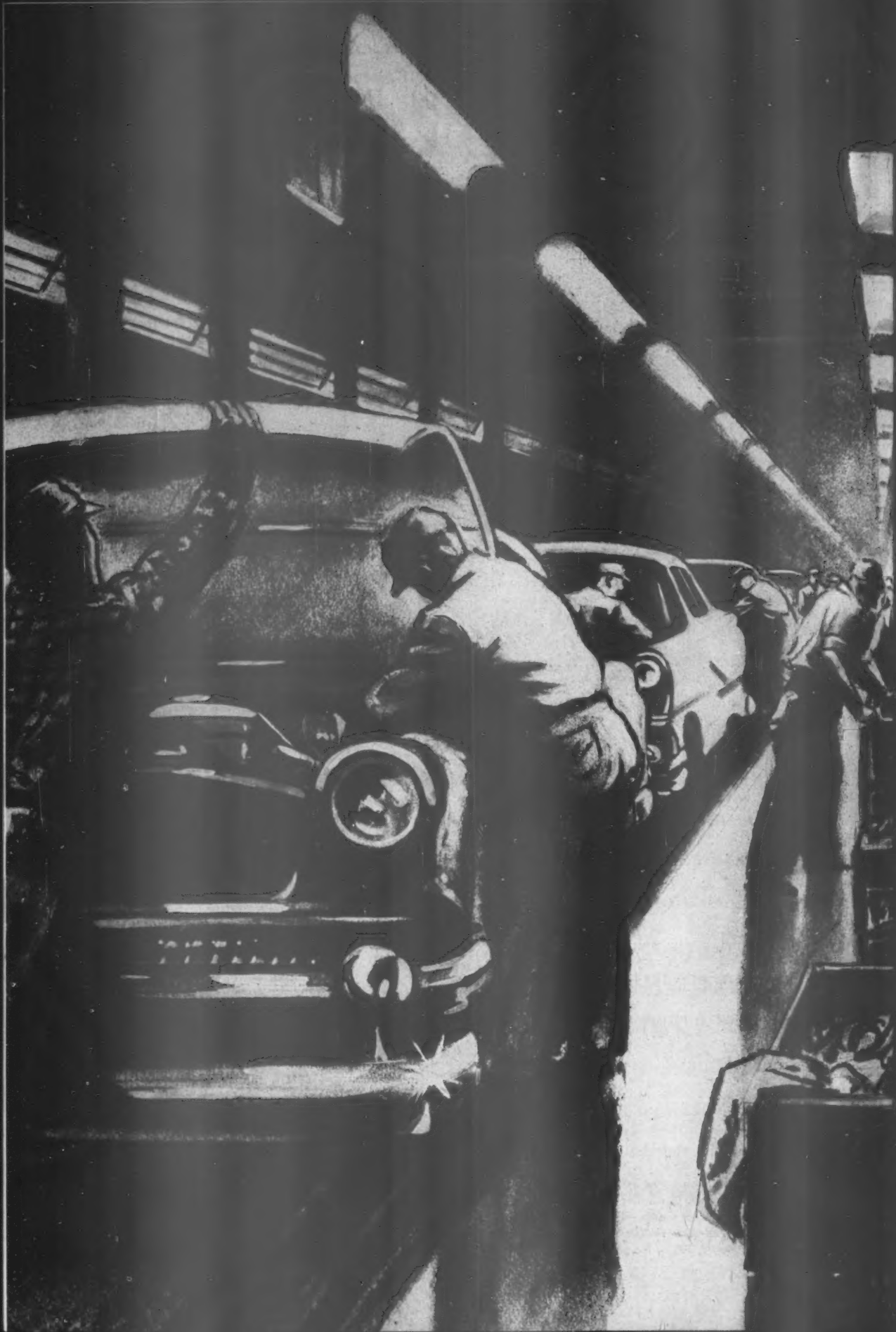
Automation holds out the promise of vast improvements in living conditions, in increased leisure for workers and in greatly increased economic strength. It likewise promises the elimination of routine, repetitive jobs. But the widespread introduction of automation will present serious economic and social problems, involving dislocations of the labor force, geographical shifts of industry, labor displacement, changing the skills of workers and the need for substantial increases in consumer buying power for rapidly growing markets.

We know that you cannot hide from technological progress. We know, too, that the labor movement, which is itself a progressive movement, must not stand in the way of scientific improvements. We have, therefore, welcomed automation as a new step in man's progress toward the production of abundance and the establishment of a better and richer life for all people. At the same time, however, we are committed to the proposition that the transition to automation must not result in the dislocations and human suffering that accompanied the first industrial revolution or that followed the introduction of mass production techniques after World War I.

Science and technology are giving us the tools for economic abundance. We intend to do all in our power to see to it that these tools will help to bring peace, freedom and improved living conditions, as well as a greater measure of security and leisure, to mankind everywhere.

Walter P. Reuther.

Published monthly by the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations at 901 Massachusetts Ave. N.W., Washington 1, D. C. Editor—George Meany. Director of Publications—Henry C. Fleisher. Managing Editor—Bernard Tassler. Assistant Editor—Fred Ross. Subscriptions, \$2 a year in U.S. and Canada. Other rates on application. Entered as second-class matter at Washington and accepted for mailing at special rate of postage provided in Section 1103, Act of Oct. 3, 1917. No paid advertising is ever accepted. No material may be reprinted without permission.



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Eisenhower's Economic Report

Scholarly Document . . . but a Disappointing One

By STANLEY H. RUTTENBERG

Director of Research, AFL-CIO

EACH year the President of the United States is required by law to submit to Congress an economic report on the state of the nation. The Employment Act of 1946 requires that the report include an examination of "trends in the levels of employment, production and purchasing power" and a statement of the levels of employment, production and purchasing power needed to provide economic conditions "under which there will be afforded useful employment opportunities, including self-employment, for those able, willing and seeking to work."

This year the President's report fell far short of the requirements of the act. While the report contains some excellent scholarly material which illustrates the technical competence of his advisers, it is far too narrow in scope and fails to suggest programs that will help to improve the economy in the future. The report seems to say that a boom-time economy requires little, if any, preventive medicine.

The many deficiencies in the report, both in scope and concept, give the impression that we should not be concerned about unpleasant matters, such as a possible tapering-off of economic activity in 1956, the needs of millions of low-income families, possible social disruption from the introduction of automation, the need for much expanded public services or the possible need to step up national defense and foreign aid programs.

There is no statement in the report of full employment goals for 1956 or the period ahead. Nor is there any looking forward in terms of human needs and of the manpower, natural resources and policies required for meeting those needs by private groups and government.

The President's economic report



MR. RUTTENBERG

fails to examine the recent and foreseeable growth in the labor force and productivity—the generating forces within the economy without which we will have stagnation and declines instead of continued economic growth.

The report contains a lengthy and self-congratulatory review of the recovery from the 1953-54 downturn. It places extreme emphasis upon monetary policy.

This overemphasis results in a distorted view of the downturn and of the pickup. Its reliance on individual statistical indexes is unworthy of a serious economic analysis. For example, we all know that the downturn started about mid-1953 and was gathering force by the end of the year. But the report states that "already in the fall and winter of 1953 some signs of emerging recovery became visible." Evidence of such signs of recovery is given: "Stock prices, which are an imperfect but nevertheless significant indicator of busi-

ness sentiment, began rising in September and approached the year's highest values before the year ended."

Any real analysis of the downturn and recovery would have to examine the important economic role of the trade unions and of economic and social welfare legislation—a task which the economic report somehow manages to avoid. In an editorial statement on January 28, 1956, *Business Week* magazine declares that a major "reason to expect less violent fluctuations in the economy is that we have learned to let the stabilizers work in our favor. Today we would expect, and permit, the automatic stabilizers to offset 30 to 40 per cent of a decline." These important built-in stabilizers are completely ignored in the President's report.

Trade union strength and collective bargaining protected the income of workers fortunate enough to remain at their jobs, and thereby prevented a possible sharp decline in total wage and salary income. The unemployment compensation system, however inadequate, went into operation to offset part of the decline that occurred. Consumer income was protected and consumer markets were prevented from shrinking too greatly.

Other government insurance programs, adopted under the New Deal and Fair Deal, gave added strength to the economy's consumer sector. Federal and state government payments under the various social insurance programs—unemployment compensation, retirement, disability and survivors' programs—pumped a total of \$9.7 billion into the economy in 1954, over \$2.1 billion more than in 1953.

Government payments to farmers were several million dollars greater in 1954 than in the previous year. All told, government programs pumped into the hands of consumers in 1954

considerably over \$2 billion more than in 1953. The net effect was that consumer income was strengthened and consumer spending was bolstered.

Union-negotiated pension plans and health and welfare plans provided additional incomes for workers. Health and welfare plans that are part of collective bargaining agreements likewise provided some incomes for workers and their families who were ill or in other distressed circumstances.

Thus, due largely to the operation of these built-in stabilizers, personal income, generally, did not drop sharply during the downturn. Consumer spending held up, despite the decline in government expenditures and business investment. The downturn was not anywhere as sharp as it would have been in the absence of built-in stabilizers.

The consumer sector of the economy—that had been bolstered by the built-in stabilizers—was the driving force behind the upturn. The rise in personal consumption expenditures and in residential non-farm construction accounted for 70 per cent of the \$26.9 billion increase in gross national product. This surge of consumer spending helped to bring about the rebuilding of business inventories and a resumption of the rise in business investment.

CONSUMER income did not collapse during the downturn and consumers felt optimistic enough after mid-1954 to buy new-model automobiles, homes and other consumer goods with cash and credit. The Administration eased housing mortgage credit—a measure that stimulated housing construction. And the early start of production of 1955-model automobiles—with its impact on the steel, rubber, glass and other related industries—touched off a sharp pick-up in consumer buying and in general economic activity.

The extension of credit has been an important factor in this rise in consumer spending. Thirty-seven per cent of the increase in consumer spending for goods and services (excluding new homes), between the last three months of 1954 and the same period of 1955, was accounted for by the rise in outstanding short-term consumer debt.

The Administration's "remedy" for consumer debt increase has been its



The checks which are now received by many workers under union-negotiated health and welfare plans have been helpful to the national economy.

usual policy of tilting with the wind-mill of inflationary demand, which Administration leaders apparently always see before them. Their general hard-money, tight-credit policy has contributed to a decline in new housing starts, which moved down from an annual rate of about 1,400,000 in the early months of 1955 to a rate of 1,200,000 in the last four months of the year. It has also contributed to the rising profits of the banks and other lenders.

Underlying this policy seems to be a fear of full employment—an effort to maintain unemployment at something considerably above 2 per cent of the civilian labor force. Even during the 1954 downturn, with unemployment at 5 per cent or more of the labor force, we were told that the unemployment condition was essentially an area problem, rather than a matter of national concern.

There is a significant difference between a general "hard money" policy, such as the Administration has followed since late 1954—as it did in early 1953 when it contributed to bringing about the downturn—and a policy of restraints and controls over specific markets. The increases in margin requirements for stock purchases, in early 1955, were justified—

and they were much belated—because of the sharp rise in stock prices after the fall of 1953. The stock market boom, however, did not justify a general "hard money" policy that preceded specific restraints on that market by more than a year.

The bulge in consumer debt last year does have its dangerous aspects. But the potential danger did not arise from an economy-wide threat of inflationary demand when unemployment fluctuated as it did in 1955 between 3.2 per cent and 5.3 per cent of the labor force. It has not required a general "hard money" policy to restrict national economic activities. The possibility of danger arises if the debt cannot be sustained—if after-tax personal income this year should falter or decline.

If the Administration were seriously interested in price movements rather than in dealing with the bugaboo of general inflationary demand, then the President's economic report should have analyzed the movement of prices in the various sectors of the economy. In that event, the significant rise in industrial prices in the last six months of 1955 would have been discussed in the report.

Real hourly earnings of workers in manufacturing industries rose 6 per

cent between 1953 and 1955. During this period there were improvements in fringe benefits, which may have brought the gain in real hourly earnings and fringe benefits up an additional percentage point to 7 per cent—considerably less than the 10 per cent rise in man-hour output. Unit labor costs in manufacturing industries declined substantially between 1953 and 1955.

The inadequate increase in real hourly earnings—by comparison with rising man-hour output—left ample room for substantial reductions in the wholesale prices of industrial commodities. Instead, these prices rose 3 per cent between 1953 and 1955. By the end of last year, industrial prices were higher than the year's average and were still rising. It is apparent, on the face of it, that this increase in prices cannot be justified on the basis of labor costs.

If these price increases resulted, to any significant extent, from shortages of specific types of goods, then it would indicate a need for some industries to increase their productive capacities. The President's economic report, however, is not helpful on this score, since it evades any projection of full employment goals. Had the report indicated estimates of required production levels to sustain full employment in 1956 and in the years ahead, it could have provided, at least, some guideposts to business leaders of the indicated capacity needed for the stable growth of the national economy under full employment. What is the estimated requirement of steel capacity, for example, needed to sustain full employment in 1956 and in 1960?

The increase in unit profit margins has contributed to the rise in the profits after taxes of all U.S. corporations and also to the rise in prices. From \$17 billion in 1953, the after-tax profits of all U.S. corporations rose to \$21.5 billion in 1955. For manufacturing corporations the rate of return of after-tax profits on stockholders' equity (net worth) rose from 10.7 per cent in 1953 to 12.2 per cent in the first nine months of 1955, the latest date for available information.

Rather than fighting phantom inflationary demand pressures, why does not the Administration propose to cope with the real problem of administered prices in most of our basic manufacturing industries? Wage-

price-profit-investment relationships are basic factors in our economic system. They are too important to be ignored or sidestepped.

The President's economic report states that "it is reasonable to expect that high levels of production, employment and income will be broadly sustained during the coming year and that underlying conditions will remain favorable to further economic growth." An estimate of how much growth we can expect in 1956 is missing from the report, however, as well as an estimate of how much expansion would be required to sustain full employment.

The President's budget message is based on a continuation of output and income levels at about the rate of the fourth quarter of 1955—a condition that would mean stagnation and rising unemployment.

To sustain full employment this year, the gross national product should be at an annual rate of approximately \$413 to \$415 billion in the fourth quarter, up about \$16 to \$18 billion from the \$397 billion rate of the fourth quarter of 1955. Although this is a conservative estimate, it is well above the rate of output that most observers expect will be attained on the basis of current trends.

One essential corrective step by the federal government would be an early revision of the individual income tax to reduce the tax burden on individuals, with special emphasis on cutting the burden on low- and middle-income families. Such revision is

needed to make the tax structure more equitable, as well as to raise consumer purchasing power.

Another required step of importance is a comprehensive and practical federal program of assistance to distressed communities. And the Administration is to be commended for its much-belated recognition of federal responsibility for assistance to distressed communities. The President's economic report last year failed to present an assistance program, despite campaign promises made in 1952.

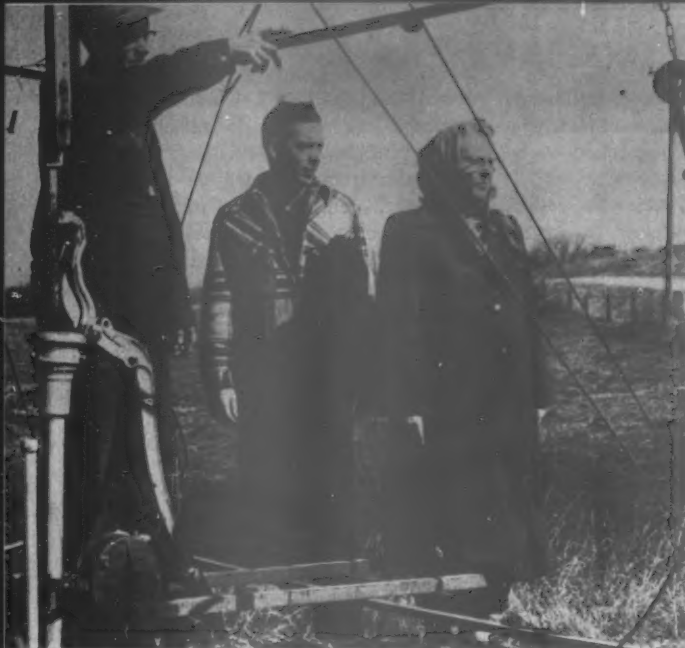
This year the economic report announces that "the fate of distressed communities is a matter of national as well as local concern." Although some progress in the Administration's thinking is indicated, the proposed program is inadequate in terms of suggested federal funds, and it relies to an unrealistic and impractical extent on the states.

THE continuing decline in farm income is another area that requires early attention this year. The net income of farmers declined \$5.2 billion between 1951 and 1955. The agricultural situation will have a depressing effect on the national economy this year if early measures are not taken by the Administration and Congress to bolster the farm sector of the economy.

There has been altogether too much emphasis in recent years on statistical indexes of economic achievement, with (Continued on Page 30)



While labor believes in and wants full employment, the Administration seems to have a fear of jobs for everybody, and its stand on the distressed areas problem is unrealistic and impractical.



Feeling let down by President Eisenhower and his inept Secretary of Agriculture, the farmers of Iowa are not very happy these days. They see through Ezra T. Benson's efforts to divert attention from himself by rapping labor. Many '52 Ike-likers don't like him now.

Ezra's 'Corn' Withers in Iowa

By FRED ROSS

DES MOINES.

THE Secretary of Agriculture, Ezra Taft Benson, has been trying to turn the nation's farmers against labor. He has made a series of anti-labor speeches. The most violent of these was delivered a few weeks ago at the San Francisco convention of the Western States Meat Packers Association.

Iowa farmers are not buying Mr. Benson's anti-labor line. On the contrary, growing numbers are seeing organized labor as a natural ally. Some Iowa farmers think so well of the American labor movement that they are seeking affiliation with the AFL-CIO. And Secretary Benson's unpopularity among the farmers is increasing.

Paul L. Thompson rents a farm thirty miles northeast of here. He is a young farmer. Thompson is being hit hard by falling farm prices.

"I won't be able to last out this year," he told this reporter, "if there isn't a change for the better in farm prices. The Administration has hurt me in a lot of ways. In view of its

record, the Administration does not deserve the farmers' support."

Glen Boyd is township chairman of a new and growing farm group, the National Farm Organization. He has a farm forty-three miles north of this city in an area where some of the most valuable farm land in Iowa is found. Boyd is disgusted with Secretary Benson's repeated efforts to turn the farmers against labor.

"I have a herd of registered Holstein dairy cows," he said. "Until April 19, 1954, I was receiving \$4.35 per hundredweight for milk. In March this year I received \$3.35 per hundredweight. Benson is just a hireling. The responsibility lies with the President. I'm a registered Republican, but I won't vote for Eisenhower again."

Under Benson the milk price support has been dropped from 90 to 75 per cent of parity.

John Phelan with his brother, Daniel, farms 1,400 acres twenty-five miles northeast of here.

"The NAM representative [Presi-

dent Cola G. Parker, who spoke February 17 at the National Farm Institute sponsored by the Greater Des Moines Chamber of Commerce] made me mad. He tried to smear George Meany as a Red in an effort to turn farmers against labor. He was following the Communist 'class warfare' technique. Andrew Biemiller [AFL-CIO legislative representative who spoke at the Institute] answered the NAM spokesman with facts. I also was not impressed by Mr. Benson's speech at the Institute."

Secretary Benson addressed the National Farm Institute on February 18. Members of Local 89 of the Packinghouse Workers picketed the front of the hotel in protest against Benson's anti-labor San Francisco speech. One sign said: "Ezra has farmers over a barrel, wants workers in it." Local 89's pickets were joined by a number of farmer pickets, according to union leaders. Secretary Benson used a rear entrance to the hotel.

Many of the farmers interviewed by this reporter during the week he

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spent in Iowa recalled approvingly the Institute speech of Mr. Biemiller.

"Since 1953," Mr. Biemiller had said, "output per man-hour in manufacturing as a whole has been rising more rapidly than wages per man-hour. This was stated recently by the Commissioner of Labor Statistics, whose office has been studying the subject intensively. He says manufacturing output per man-hour rose 10 per cent from 1953 to 1955. Average hourly wages of production workers in manufacturing rose 6 per cent in these years. These two facts together mean that, although the wage per hour went up, the labor cost per unit of output went down. This disproves the charges that wage increases have forced manufacturers to raise their prices.

"Organized labor quite widely believes that quick and effective action to get farm prices back up, and to bring farm incomes into line, is vitally important for farmers, for labor and for everyone else."

SOME of the farmers who voted for General Eisenhower in 1952 are so fed up with Secretary Benson that they say they won't vote for Eisenhower again. Others say they are "uncertain."

A poll conducted by *Wallace's Farmer and Iowa Homestead* shows that Benson's stock is sinking. This publication goes to 91 per cent of Iowa's farms, according to the Audit Bureau of Circulations. The poll, which has been in operation since 1938, is categorically, geographically and politically representative of the farm population of Iowa, in the opinion of the magazine's managing editor, Lee Thompson.

The poll shows that the number of farmers who feel Benson is doing a poor job has jumped from 27 per cent in February, 1955, to 48 per cent in December, 1955. The number of those who believe Benson is doing a fair job has fallen from 43 per cent to 28 per cent during the same period. Last December only 7 per cent believed that he was doing a good job, and 17 per cent were not sure.

A poll of Iowa voters made by the *Des Moines Register and Tribune* in early January indicates that President Eisenhower very likely is suffering from his support of Secretary Benson and his policies.

The voters were asked:

"Would U.S. be better off if Eisenhower were President for another four years, or could it get along better with someone else for President?"

The results: Better off with Ike—42 per cent. Just as well with someone else—42 per cent. Undecided—16 per cent.

The results of this poll are possibly explained by the almost universal belief that General Eisenhower, in his 1952 campaign, promised to support farm prices at 100 per cent of parity. Speaking at the National Plowing Contest near Kasson, Minnesota, on September 6, 1952, he said:

"I firmly believe that agriculture is entitled to a fair, full share of the national income, and it must be a policy of government to help agriculture achieve this goal. * * * And a fair share is not 90 per cent of parity—it is full parity!"

The potential threat to President Eisenhower in November moved the *Des Moines Register* to observe editorially on March 5 that "as sober and factual an outfit as the *Congressional Quarterly* labels the farm issue in the Midwest the main bout for the 1956 national elections."

Robert G. Thompson, 63 years old,

was interviewed on his farm eleven miles northwest of Newton. He has been farming for four decades.

"Benson should have done something to stop the declining hog prices," he said. "It is a political problem involving the President. If Benson were fired, I still would not vote for Eisenhower."

"I don't think Eisenhower has fulfilled his promises to the farmers," was the way 82-year-old Paul Hamilton put it.

He lives on a farm near Mr. Thompson, where much of the work has been taken over by his 47-year-old son, Merle.

"Almost every farmer in Iowa is hurt by the decline in hog prices, yet Benson tells us that it doesn't make any difference," said Merle Hamilton.

Like many other farmers, the younger Mr. Hamilton was critical of the Farm Bureau for supporting the Benson program. Merle Hamilton has joined the National Farm Organization, which claims more than 100,000 members in Iowa, although it was started only last fall.

"I was making out better before Benson," Carl Bach told this reporter.

A farmer for thirty-one years, he



The receipts of Glen Boyd, dairy farmer, have been falling. He won't vote for Eisenhower again, he told the interviewer.

was interviewed at a livestock auction at Colfax, more than a score of miles east of here.

Iowa farmers in increasing numbers realize that they and city workers are dependent on each other. Farmers are looking more favorably on organized labor. Many workers in Iowa's organized plants came from farms. Their roots are there. They visit their kinfolk on the farms.

Down on the farm, industrial workers compare the wages in unionized industries with what their relations earn in a declining farm market. This tie also brings home to farmers their dependency on workers for their prosperity and vice versa. How this relationship works was revealed at the farm of Allie Parkins, some twenty miles southwest of here.

"I'm an Eisenhower supporter, but I don't know how I'll vote in November," said Mr. Parkins, a farmer for a quarter of a century. He is 57.

His potential change in attitude may be explained by the proximity of his son Dale, who lives across the road from him and has been employed for nine years at the Ford farm implement plant here. Dale Parkins is politically liberal. He is chairman of the shop committee of his local of the United Auto Workers.

Another son, Melvin, also frequently visits his father. Melvin Parkins worked at the Ford plant until a bout with polio, from which he has recovered, led him to believe that his then impaired health would make it difficult to get another job, should work be curtailed.

"I didn't break even last year," Melvin said. "I voted Republican last time, but I don't think I'll vote for Ike again. I blame both Benson and Eisenhower for the farm problem, and I don't believe that the GOP is trying to solve it."

Groups of Iowa farmers have presented their cases for affiliation with the AFL-CIO to the Iowa Federation of Labor and the Iowa Industrial Union Council. Federation President Ray Mills is the mayor of Des Moines. The secretary-treasurer is Earl J. Baum. The Iowa IUC is headed by Vernon Dale, and Edris Owens is secretary-treasurer.

While labor has cooperated closely with a number of farm organizations and will continue to work with liberal farm groups, no action has been taken by the AFL-CIO to organize land-



Cedar Rapids farmers plead for affiliation with the AFL-CIO. Ray Mills (front row, center) is State Federation of Labor president. The other men are farmers and leaders of labor.



Iowa farmers and trade unionists are getting together and discussing mutual problems. Second from left is Robert G. Thompson, a farmer. At right is Edris Owens, secretary of Iowa's Industrial Union Council.

owning farmers. The founding convention of the AFL-CIO last December adopted a resolution on farmer-labor unity which pledged labor "to building an unshakable bond of mutual understanding and cooperative action between farmers and workers."

Iowa's farmers are learning that labor is their friend.

The political atmosphere has changed both in Des Moines and in Polk County, of which the city is the seat. Two years ago the Democrats increased their control in the county government, although the registered Republicans outnumbered them by 4,000. Last November two labor-supported Democrats were elected to the Des Moines City Council, giving Mayor Mills a majority.

The Iowa Capitol remains under Republican control. U.S. Senators

Martin and Hickenlooper and the eight Congressmen from Iowa are Republicans.

Iowa's farmers are unhappy. They are disgusted with Secretary Benson. They are unimpressed by his ridiculous attacks on labor. If the discontent of Iowa farmers continues to mount, the Administration may lose the state in November. Although Iowa went for Eisenhower by a wide margin in 1952, it is recalled that President Truman carried the state four years earlier.

In 1948 Iowa's farmers were angry at the Republican-controlled Eightieth Congress. Today they are angry at Ezra Taft Benson, Secretary of Agriculture. When Iowa farmers feel that they are being mistreated, they usually register their resentment via the ballot box. Will they do it again?



Delegates came to Washington conference from every part of the nation.



His housing bill was explained by Senator Lehman of New York.

Legislative outlook is discouraging, George Meany (left) told delegates. Department President R. J. Gray delivered keynote address.



Revise Taft-Hartley, Building Trades Urge

TWENTY-FIVE HUNDRED delegates from forty-six states attending the second annual legislative conference in Washington of the AFL-CIO Building and Construction Trades Department called for the prompt enactment of fair labor legislation as they visited members of the Senate and House. The conference was held last month.

AFL-CIO President George Meany praised the efforts of the building trades delegates and the officers of the Department in regard to the Taft-Hartley and Davis-Bacon Acts. The current legislative outlook is not encouraging, he warned. The Eisenhower Administration shows no disposition to push for fair labor legislation. Mr. Meany said, "despite the fact that the Chief Executive made a definite promise to eliminate unfair [Taft-Hartley] provisions when he was campaigning" in 1952.

The keynote address was delivered by Richard J. Gray, president of the Department. Senator Herbert H. Lehman of New York described the housing bill which bears his name. The delegates also heard talks by many others, including Senators Paul H. Douglas of Illinois, Patrick McNamara of Michigan and Thomas H. Kuchel of California.

The finest barber shops in all the world are America's union shops. They're clean and attractive, and the men and women who work in these establishments are experts.



A UNION THAT REDEEMED A PROUD HERITAGE

By WILLIAM C. BIRTHRIGHT

*General President-Secretary-Treasurer, Journeymen Barbers,
Hairdressers and Cosmetologists International Union*

THIS is the story of a union that redeemed a proud heritage.

Four centuries ago King Henry VIII of England bestowed on barbers—who then also were surgeons—a coat of arms which is today the insignia of the Journeymen Barbers, Hairdressers and Cosmetologists International Union.

But like the prodigal son, the bar-

bers wasted their substance until they had no place to go but down to further humiliation—and further economic insecurity. Unlike the prodigal son, they had no home to return to—and no forgiving father. They had to lift themselves by their own bootstraps, which they started to do a scant seventy years ago by forming a union.

Then they began their economic

climb upward—slowly at first but with increasing rapidity later—until today they are in the front ranks of the labor movement. Their union shop card is now proudly displayed in the windows of 45,000 establishments in the U.S. and Canada to tell the public and members of other unions that competent craftsmen are employed there under union conditions.

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It is a fascinating story. First let us review the Barbers' history and then let us outline the improvements the international union and its members have won.

Barbering and beauty culture are almost as old as the human race. While there is no record of barbers and beauticians in the Garden of Eden, these craftsmen no doubt set up their shops during the dawn of history. Early Egyptian hieroglyphics and other primitive art unearthed by archeologists indicate the antiquity of the two trades. Ancient art shows men with smooth-shaven faces or trimmed beards—and women with well-arranged coiffures. The Bible and other early records mention both trades. Barbering and beauty culture improved as the requisites for the appearance of nobles at court functions became more demanding.

As early as 1100 A.D. English barbers were known as barber-surgeons, and practiced surgery as did monks, who continued to operate on human beings until the Council of Tours issued a prohibition in 1163 A.D. Three centuries later King Edward IV granted a charter to barber-surgeons, and in 1541 Henry VIII bestowed on them a coat of arms. Queen Mary I and her husband, King Philip II of Spain, granted a charter to barbers, which did not refer to surgeons.

Barbers gradually lost this prestige. Their economic status in the United States became almost pitiful two decades before the close of the Nineteenth Century. Haircuts were ten and fifteen cents, shaves five to ten cents. Barber shops were open seven days a week and working hours were unlimited—the closing time depended on when "the fellow down the street" turned off his lights.

American barbers, realizing their plight, had tried early in the Nineteenth Century to better their lot by forming beneficial or social organizations, but many of them were short-lived. As late as 1872 a number of these clubs affiliated with the Knights of Labor, but, like their parent organization, found that they had no future.

A few far-seeing New York City barbers sensed that something more constructive would have to be done to improve their economic status. They sent out a call for a meeting at Buffalo to organize a union. A handful of delegates from New York City,

Buffalo, Muskegon and Toledo came together and established the Journeymen Barbers International Protective Union.

A delegate from New York City was sent to the first convention of the American Federation of Labor at Columbus, Ohio, in 1886. In response to an application, the Federation issued a charter in April, 1888, to the Journeymen Barbers International Union, the word "Protective" having been dropped from the name.

In 1924 the international union extended its jurisdiction to beauty-shop workers, hairdressers and cosmetologists, and in 1929 manicurists were granted the privilege of membership. It was decided in 1941 that beauticians should have representation on the union's Executive Board, and a practitioner of that trade was elected a vice-president to fill a post on the Board.

The headquarters of the international union are in its own building at 1141 North Delaware Street, Indianapolis, a handsome structure of Gothic architecture. I took office as general president and secretary-treasurer in 1937, and have been reelected every five years since then by the con-



MR. BIRTHRIGHT

ventions. Fifteen vice-presidents and I constitute the Executive Board.

I have told the story of the barbers in some detail the better to show how the International Union, its locals and the members have improved their conditions after their lowly beginning as a union sixty-nine years ago.

The organization's purpose was plainly set forth by the original founders as follows:

- ▶ To alleviate the constant struggle of barbers against oppression.
- ▶ To create a spirit of unity and



The customers receive excellent service in union beauty parlors. The hairdressers and other workers have been thoroughly trained.

confidence in each other as workers (something that had been entirely lacking).

► To correct a misunderstanding of the true cause of oppression, so that unity of sentiment and action would weld members and the trade together for mutual protection.

The international union has never deviated from this course—a course that has borne fruit.

Here are some of the accomplishments:

► Reduction of the workweek by fifty to seventy hours.

► Elimination of Sunday work.

► Enactment of state barber laws (unknown until the international union sought them), including licensing of barbers and beauticians, establishment of minimum prices, state barber and beautician boards with enforcement powers, and sanitary regulations for the protection of barbers and the public.

► Advanced prices for a shave from five cents to an eighty-cent average, and of a haircut from ten cents to a \$1.16 average, with corresponding advances for other services—all aimed at gaining a better standard of living.

► Institution of a high-standard educational program for barbers and beauticians.

► Operation by the international union of a sickness and death benefit department, which has paid out ap-



The union barber does his work with skill and speed.

proximately \$17,561,673 in benefits, plus recent extension of the health and welfare plan to cover dependents of the participants.

But no summation can do justice to the wide activities of the Journeymen Barbers, Hairdressers and Cosmetologists International Union. Our organization pioneered in obtaining state laws to establish professional standards, safeguard the health of customers of barber and beauty shops and set up regulation of barber and beauty schools. All but two states have barber laws, and in these two there are county and city regulations.

The international union within the past year has instituted a new health and welfare program for members and their dependents. It is of a voluntary

nature, the only requirement being that 66⅔ per cent of the members of a local enroll to participate in the program and that all participants must maintain their good standing status. The project operates under a trust fund agreement and is governed by a board of trustees composed of eight members, four representing employers and four representing employees. The program follows the policy laid down by the AFL-CIO as regards to health and welfare projects.

Acting as the legislative arms of the international union are state associations organized by local unions in various states. These associations not only press for the enactment of desirable barber laws but also assist state labor bodies to gain favorable labor legislation and defeat anti-labor measures.

Since 1933 the international union has been operating, on a non-profit basis, a barbers' and beauticians' school at Indianapolis, which recently was remodeled and re-equipped. Associated with the international union's educational program are thirty-two privately-owned barber schools and thirteen vocational schools throughout the country.

When you see that union shop card again, think of all these things. It is the sign of a union that in less than seventy years redeemed a proud heritage dating back four centuries.

OUR OLDER PEOPLE

By AVERELL HARRIMAN
Governor of New York

WE LIVE in a society that in many respects idealizes youth—a society that is geared to the needs of youth. Perhaps no period in history has given so much attention to the problems of youth, and probably no other country.

Unfortunately, the emphasis on youth has often resulted in a tendency to belittle the importance of the contributions older people can make to our society. Sometimes this leads even to coldness or indifference to the legitimate claims of our older people.

The time has come to develop a concerted, coordinated program to deal with the many facets of the problems of the aging. One of the most significant developments in American life is that we are becoming a nation of older people in both absolute and

relative terms. In New York State, the population has doubled since 1900, but the number of persons 65 years and older has quadrupled. There are a million and a half persons 65 years of age or older in the state; in 1970 it is estimated that there will be well over two million in this upper age bracket.

We all know how difficult it is for many capable older people to get and keep a job. Our older citizens are faced by a series of economic, social and emotional problems—all of which are complicated by the fact that, as life expectancy increases, the period of working life has been getting shorter.

According to a recent U.S. study, only 14 per cent of job applicants in the New York State Employment Service over 45 years of age were

placed, compared with a figure of 23 per cent for applicants 45 years of age or under. At the same time a much higher percentage of beneficiaries over 45 exhaust their unemployment insurance benefit rights than do workers in younger groups.

We want to safeguard and promote the spiritual, emotional, physical and economic well-being of our older citizens; prevent physical and moral decay and breakdown. It is essential that we insure productiveness and creativity, independence and self-reliance among our aging population.

One step—and a most important one—in this direction is development and maintenance of employment practices which do not consign to the industrial limbo men and women, age 40 or 45 and over, who are ready, eager and able to work.

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AFL-CIO Secretary Schnitzler chats with conference delegates after the address he delivered at the luncheon session.

Better Community Is Theme of Parley

THE AFL-CIO Community Services Committee was hailed by President George Meany as being "in keeping with the spirit of the trade union movement" and the Biblical injunction, "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself." He spoke March 9 at a conference of the Community Services Committee held at the Willard Hotel in the nation's capital.

"To make democracy work," said the president of the AFL-CIO, "com-

munity service must be a community venture."

The program of the Community Services Committee, Mr. Meany declared, is an expression of the same spirit which led the American labor movement to improve living standards, serve the nation in wartime and fight for public schools and civil rights.

AFL-CIO Secretary-Treasurer William F. Schnitzler, who addressed a conference luncheon, said that labor has mapped an "ambitious" community services program "built right into the AFL-CIO structure." The "narrow" path into which trade unionism was once forced by weight of circumstances is a thing of the past, he declared. He predicted increasing efforts and "greater tempo" in the realm of community services in the years ahead.

Keenly interested in the proceedings were John Brophy, veteran of American unionism; George Richardson and Joseph A. Beirne.



AFL-CIO President Meany hailed the Community Services unit.

Joseph A. Beirne, president of the Communications Workers and chairman of the Community Services Committee, told the conference that, as the future unfolds, trade unionists working for the betterment of America's communities will play vital roles. He emphasized the need of union representation at policy-making levels of social and welfare agencies. Mr. Beirne called the conference "tangible evidence of the integration of the merged labor movement."

The sessions were attended by more than 150, including a number of leaders of AFL-CIO affiliates. Leo Perlis, director of the Community Services Committee, introduced President Meany.

As a token of appreciation for labor's contributions, the Boys' Clubs of America presented a medallion and a citation to President Meany.

Labor and Non-Ferrous Metals

By **JAMES A. BROWNLOW**
President, Metal Trades Department, AFL-CIO

TRADE union organization among the workers in the non-ferrous metals industry goes back a long way. The mining camps and company towns were the scenes of many long and heroic struggles in the uphill fight of the workers in this industry to obtain improvements in their wages and working conditions, and the dignity and self-respect which can be achieved only through real collective bargaining.

Books have been written on the history and development of collective bargaining in non-ferrous metals. The problems which have had to be faced and overcome were indeed difficult. The great copper and other non-ferrous mining corporations were thoroughly entrenched, and they vigorously fought trade union organization by their employees and would not easily recognize the principles of collective bargaining.

In Colorado and other gold and silver mining areas organization was attempted as early as 1860. Organizations of metal trades craftsmen were established in some of the mining camps as early as 1890. By 1893 all of the metal working crafts in Butte, Montana, were organized and were meeting jointly to protect their welfare. The metal crafts maintained their organizations in the mining camps, smelters and refineries of the Anaconda Company on a 100 per cent basis throughout the years.

As workers would move from one mining camp to another, they carried the message of trade unionism with them and helped to prepare the way for organization in the great mining areas of the Southwest. There is probably no industry in which trade union activities have been subject to more internal conflict than in non-ferrous metals. From the early days of the Knights of Labor through the IWW and the Western Federation of Miners, there have been several organizations representing workers in the industry and attempting to achieve the same objective of improving the



MR. BROWNLOW

wages, hours and conditions of employment in the industry.

The tremendous demand for metals generated by World War II gave renewed impetus to non-ferrous metals production. As mining installations became active to meet wartime metals requirements, the Metal Trades Department, in an effort to bring some coordination and cooperation into the organizational efforts of its local Metal Trades Councils and affiliated unions, called a conference in June of 1941 which resulted in uniting its several local Metal Trades Councils in the Intermountain Region into a District Metal Trades Council.

That Council was the forerunner of the present Non-Ferrous Metals Council which has become instrumental in bringing the metal trades groups in the non-ferrous industry into closer association with one another. Its purpose is to serve as a vehicle through which matters of general interest to the memberships of the affiliated organizations may be considered and programs developed which will be beneficial to the workers in the non-ferrous metals industry.

The annual conferences of the Non-Ferrous Metals Council bring together the leadership of the local Metal

Trades Councils and local unions from the widespread and isolated locations of the copper, lead, zinc and other non-ferrous metals operations. These worker delegates have an opportunity not only to meet together to consider their common problems but also to confer with international union and state federation representatives and officials of the AFL-CIO and the Metal Trades Department. These conferences help develop a closer association between the various local Councils and affiliated local unions and a closer working relationship among those charged with the difficult responsibility of adequately representing the workers in bargaining with the various units of the industry.

They also serve as a means of bringing to the attention of the appropriate officials of the Metal Trades Department and of the AFL-CIO the position and desires of the workers in non-ferrous metals on all matters which vitally affect their welfare and well-being.

THE Council has been of considerable service to its affiliates in compiling and supplying periodic releases giving the latest available information on non-ferrous industrial activities in each of the states. It also obtains and reproduces wage schedules and other pertinent information from new collective bargaining agreements in the industry and supplies such information to its affiliates, serving as a clearing house and as a vehicle for keeping them informed on the latest developments in their industry.

The Non-Ferrous Metals Council, in cooperation with the Metal Trades Department, has made several surveys of non-ferrous mining operations. The most recent was completed in January, 1955, covering 124 locations in eleven states and embracing a total of close to 50,000 workers in copper, lead, zinc, gold, silver, manganese, tungsten, molybdenum, uranium, tin, vanadium, fluorspar, nickel, potash and cobalt. It showed, by states, the

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number of camps, number of workers, their union affiliation and also the type of mine and other installations, kind of ore, etc.

This survey was presented to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor in January of 1955 in connection with its study and consideration of the resolution referred to it by the 1954 convention, requesting the issuance of a charter to the miners, smeltermen and refinery workers in non-ferrous metals.

The resolution endorsing the issuance of a charter to the non-ferrous miners' group originated in the convention of the Metal Trades Department. The Department's convention in 1954 unanimously went on record as supporting the issuance of a charter in the metal mining industry while still recognizing and protecting the interests of the established craft unions. The Department instructed its delegate to introduce a similar resolution into the 1954 AFL convention. This was done, and the AFL convention referred it to the Executive Council with the recommendation "that all steps necessary to expediting the organization of these workers be taken by the Executive Council."

A similar resolution was introduced in the last convention of the AFL in

New York last December and referred to the incoming Executive Council of the AFL-CIO. Pending affirmative action by the Executive Council on organization of non-ferrous metal miners, the Metal Trades Department will continue to be of all possible assistance through its Non-Ferrous Metals Council and its local Metals Trades Councils to the workers employed in the non-ferrous industry.

THIS year the annual conference of the Non-Ferrous Metals Council will convene at Denver, Colorado, on April 12. It is anticipated that this conference will not only be informative and educational to the delegates but that it will develop a uniform bargaining program for the forthcoming negotiations with the various companies in the industry.

The development of a cohesive bargaining program and the method of achieving it through close cooperation between our various local Councils and affiliated local unions in their negotiations at the various camps are high on the list of items to receive the careful attention of the delegates.

The maintenance of a healthy domestic non-ferrous metals industry is vital to our national welfare and defense. The workers in non-ferrous

metals are certainly entitled to obtain and to maintain for themselves and their families a decent American standard of living and reasonable security in their employment. No matter how efficiently our non-ferrous industry may be operated, it cannot compete cost-wise with metal which may be dumped on our markets from foreign countries with low wage scales. We in the United States must develop and maintain a domestic metals program which will meet all foreseeable needs of our nation during periods of world crisis and not allow our national security to become dependent upon imported metals which either are excessively priced or unavailable at any price during such periods.

Trade unionists the nation over can gain much from studying the history of organization in the non-ferrous mining industry. The early experiences in Montana, the Coeur d'Alenes, Colorado and the Southwestern states form an historic though sometimes tragic picture of the struggle by these workers for improvements in their conditions and their firm resolve to gain an effective voice in the determination of their wages, hours and other conditions of employment through collective bargaining.

UNIONS IN JAPAN

By Y. HARAGUCHI

Director, ICFTU Office in Japan

WHEN the trade movement in Japan was at its peak in the postwar years, during 1948 and 1949, its total membership amounted to 6,700,000. By mid-June, 1954, this figure had decreased by only three-quarters of a million to 5,986,000, according to the Japanese Ministry of Labor. This is 39.6 per cent of the total number of employed workers.

The movement at present suffers from several defects and weaknesses. There is a serious lack of unity among the truly democratic forces. In some important industries the percentage of organized workers is often very low or divided between several different unions. The internal structure of industrial unions tends to be on a company basis.

It is somewhat misleading, perhaps, to have spoken of 39.6 per cent of Japanese workers as organized, for in some of the most important

industries the degree of organization is extremely low, and also it happens that where organization has taken place, it has resulted in several different unions instead of one union.

Immediately after World War I the trade union movement spread rapidly in Japan and reached its peak in 1935, when membership was more than 400,000. This, however, was not an organized movement based on genuine trade union principles as now established in Western countries. Only since World War II has trade unionism in Japan been based on freedom of association and speech and intended to improve conditions generally through collective bargaining and under guarantee of law.

Before World War II the political system of Japan was dominated by feudalistic ideas deliberately fostered by the ruling class to safeguard their own position of power. As a result, democratic movements such as trade

unionism concentrated their efforts on attempting to get political and social freedom.

The International Confederation of Free Trade Unions has placed its hopes of preserving and promoting democracy in Japan on the trade union movement. It believes that this movement can and must become an ever stronger bulwark against totalitarianism, whether Communist or reactionary. But to become an effective force against all forms of totalitarian threats, the Japanese trade union movement must be united in democratic and free unionism.

With this aim in view, the ICFTU has worked in Japan with great patience and understanding to achieve the maximum unity possible among the trade unions and to enlighten the workers and their leaders on international matters so as to help them to unite the free world trade union movement.

Editorial

By GEORGE MEANY

The Lobby Probe

A SPECIAL Senate committee has been authorized to undertake a full-scale investigation of political contributions by big business. This investigation was touched off by sensational disclosures regarding the lobbying activities of gas and oil interests. President Eisenhower found these activities so reprehensible that he vetoed the bill freeing natural gas producers from federal price regulation on that very account.

The AFL-CIO heartily supports this Senate investigation. Despite the law forbidding political contributions by corporations, it is common knowledge in Washington that big business interests have financed political campaigns of individual candidates and political organizations through various legal loopholes.

Frequently these contributions have been made in the name of corporation executives and members of their families. It was not until Senator Francis Case of South Dakota told the Senate he had been offered a \$2500 campaign contribution by a lawyer representing a gas producer, in the expectation that the Senator would vote for the bill desired by the gas lobby, that the scandalous nature of big business influence upon the legislative process was brought forcibly to public attention.

Since the Senate investigation was authorized, it has been stated in the press that the committee would inquire into political contributions by labor organizations as well as big business. One of the committee members, Senator Barry Goldwater of Arizona, has publicly announced that he will insist that the investigation be broadened to include unions.

Labor welcomes such an investigation. The AFL-CIO, in accordance with the law, files with

Congress a complete record of all funds it receives in \$1 voluntary political contributions from its members and all expenditures from those funds. There is nothing secret in these activities, which are completely open and aboveboard.

Before the merger both the AFL and CIO maintained separate political committees which collected campaign contributions from members and made expenditures in behalf of candidates from both parties who received labor endorsements. Since the merger the AFL-CIO has established the Committee on Political Education to carry on the same work.

We are proud of the records of these committees. With the help of state organizations, they have endorsed candidates for public office with outstanding records of public service.

Perhaps an attempt will be made to indicate that labor's campaign contributions to candidates, in the aggregate, matched those of business contributors. Such efforts will be doomed to failure, because the fact is that labor has never succeeded in raising by voluntary contributions more than a small fraction of the total amounts expended in any campaign.

It is to the best interests of democracy that the cost of campaigns be financed by as many voters as possible, because this helps to arouse the political consciousness and responsibility of the great masses of the American electorate. It is also obviously in the national interest to prevent a few large campaign contributors from dominating the selection and election of candidates for public office.

Might it not, therefore, be a good idea for Congress to provide by law for government financing of campaigns for federal office, as proposed in

S. 3242, a bill introduced by Senator Richard Neuberger and co-sponsored by Senators Morse, Murray, Douglas, Sparkman, Mansfield, Langer

and Humphrey? If Congress refuses to adopt such a law, might it not then consider limiting all campaign contributions to a maximum of \$1?

Educational Log-Jam

BECAUSE of the turbulent controversy in which our school system is now embroiled, there is grave danger that the fundamental needs will be ignored and neglected. It is of the utmost importance, therefore, to restore the proper focus in considering this problem.

The facts are plain and unchallengeable:

(1) The nation's educational facilities are suffering from lack of funds with which to provide decent schools and the high standard of teaching to which our children are entitled.

(2) The only way available to correct this situation promptly and effectively is by Congressional enactment of an adequate program of federal aid to education.

(3) There is overwhelming sentiment in Congress for the adoption of such a program.

Despite these facts, federal aid legislation has been stalled in Congress. The log-jam has resulted from the introduction of the Powell amendment, specifically barring the allocation of federal aid funds to states which fail to comply with the Supreme Court's decision that segregation in publicly supported schools is unconstitutional.

There is one man who can break this log-jam. He is the President of the United States.

The President is sworn to uphold the Constitution. In this case it is his duty and responsibility to notify Congress and the public that he will uphold the Constitution by refusing to authorize the allocation of federal aid funds voted by Congress to any state or school district which is in defiance of the Constitution, as interpreted by the Supreme Court.

A FEW REMARKS

by William F. Schnitzler

THERE IS AN ASPECT of labor's role in contemporary American life that merits a wider appreciation. Few outside the ranks of labor are fully aware of the part that our trade unions play in helping to make the local communities of America better, safer and more wholesome places in which to live.

During its early days of struggle, labor was compelled to limit its objectives to the achievement of the most immediate and pressing human needs. Its efforts were responsible for the amelioration of conditions so oppressive, undemocratic and unjust that today we find it hard to believe that they could ever have actually existed—and been defended by the powers-that-were in

those days. Even then the efforts of labor were directed not only toward the improvement of the condition of its own members but toward the greater welfare of the public as a whole.

One of organized labor's first great campaigns ended with victory in the establishment of a system of free public schools. The fruits of this victory have been enjoyed not only by the families of workers but by all American families. Other proud achievements of the early trade union movement were the elimination of child labor and of excessively arduous work and long hours for women, the end of unsanitary and dangerous firetrap sweatshops in which women and children

worked in virtual captivity, and the establishment of systems of state insurance for the casualties of industry. Each of these reforms served to strengthen the foundations of our free society.

As its membership has grown over the years, so likewise has the scope of labor's interests and activities grown. Today the trade union movement is fully awake to its broader civic responsibilities.

We are actively seeking to encourage and protect our future generations through higher educational standards and facilities and better opportunities for a sound mental and physical growth, so that our youth may be given every chance in life.

The Amalgamated Clothing Workers

By JACOB S. POTOFSKY

President, Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America



MR. POTOFSKY

THE story of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers began more than forty years ago, in December, 1914, when the union was founded in New York City. We began with a membership of about 25,000 men and women, working in one of the most chaotic industries in the nation. It was an industry of the notorious sweatshop, of child labor, of homework, of long periods of unemployment, and of low pay and long hours during the busy seasons.

Against their hardship, these workers had only the inner strength of free men, the experience of bitter, hard-fought strikes in New York, Chicago, Baltimore, Boston and elsewhere, and a great leader named Sidney Hillman.

With their strength, their experience and their leadership, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers now can boast of hundreds of thousands of members living and working in some 600 cities in forty states of the Union and in four Canadian provinces. Our members make men's and boys' suits and coats, uniforms, sport clothes, neckwear, gloves and shirts, pajamas and other cotton garments. They work in retail clothing stores, in laundries, in cleaning and dyeing plants and in offices.

They have won decent wages and hours, a comprehensive medical and welfare insurance plan, pensions and job security. They own banks, cooperative housing developments, health clinics and their own insurance companies. They are active in the com-

munity. They have, in short, lifted themselves up to a new level of decency as workers and dignity as human beings.

These are the bare facts of more than forty years of history. Behind lies a long and fascinating saga of progress, which in itself is only understandable within a framework of knowledge about our industry.

First, it is important to note that the Amalgamated is the union of the men's clothing industry. Women's clothing is made by the members of a sister union, the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union.

Second, we are a mobile industry. A union which represents transit or telephone workers, for example, need have no fear that its industry will run away. In the men's clothing and cotton garment industry, on the contrary, it is all too easy for a manufacturer to close up shop, ship his sewing machines to another city, train new workers—and he is in business, minus a union contract.

Third, ours is an intensely competitive business, with many small manufacturers constantly fighting to remain in business.

Fourth, despite improvements over the years, this is still a seasonal industry. In most plants the average worker must anticipate some period when there will be no work. (Forty years ago the average shop was open only six or seven months of the year.)

Fifth, by its very nature and like other needle trades, ours is not a high wage industry. Ninety per cent of the workers are paid by the piece or dozen. Although wages in our industry have increased many times over in the past decades, they are not equal to those of the so-called basic industries or of the craft industries.

Sixth, there are more women than men in our industry. In men's clothing (suits and coats), women represent 60 per cent of a labor force which is 98 per cent organized. In the cotton garment industry (shirts, pajamas, etc.), women represent 90 per cent of our union members.

IT is important to know these factors, because they have influenced much of the history of our union. For example, to meet the problems inherent in an industry of many small units, the Amalgamated instituted in-

For four decades this union has been making bread-and-butter gains for its members. But that's not all. It has also been helping them to build better lives off the job.

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dustry-wide bargaining. For the past twenty years collective bargaining has been undertaken with representatives of the entire clothing industry to set the pattern of wage increases, to build a national fund for social insurance and pensions, and for other improvements.

To meet the complexity of piece rates and the challenge of a mobile industry, the Amalgamated had to take special measures to insure some degree of stabilization, so that the worker and his welfare would not become a victim of the ruthless competition between firms in different localities.

To meet the problem of a competitive industry, the union has maintained a constant and large-scale organizing campaign, because in our industries the job of organizing the unorganized is never-ending. As an auxiliary of the organizing drive, the Amalgamated has also initiated one of the most extensive union label campaigns in the history of trade unionism.

Finally, to meet the threat of seasonal work and unemployment, the Amalgamated was the first union to set up its own system of unemployment insurance. This was accomplished more than thirty years ago, and when the federal government took over responsibility through the Social Security Act, the Amalgamated's plan was switched to provide a comprehensive system of health and welfare benefits and pensions.

IN ANY history of the Amalgamated, our health and welfare program would deserve a special chapter. The various benefits our members receive include, among others, life, disability, surgical, maternity, hospitalization and retirement, and many of these benefits are also available for dependents of Amalgamated members. They add up to a package of benefits that is highly prized by our entire membership.

There are at least two unusual aspects to our insurance program. In order to achieve the maximum benefits at the lowest administrative and overhead costs, and also to obtain the protection of governmental supervision, the Amalgamated has set up its own insurance companies from which virtually all our insurance policies are purchased. We now have two insurance companies, New York and

Chicago. The combined reserves of all insurance funds total \$120,000,000. These reserves are invested solely and exclusively in United States government bonds.

Under our insurance program, also, an Amalgamated member can transfer from shop to shop, from city to city, even from industry to industry (under Amalgamated jurisdiction), and all his pension rights and benefits go with him. This system of reciprocity of funds has allowed our members an unusual degree of mobility, and makes it easier to change jobs, if necessary, in this industry of small firms.

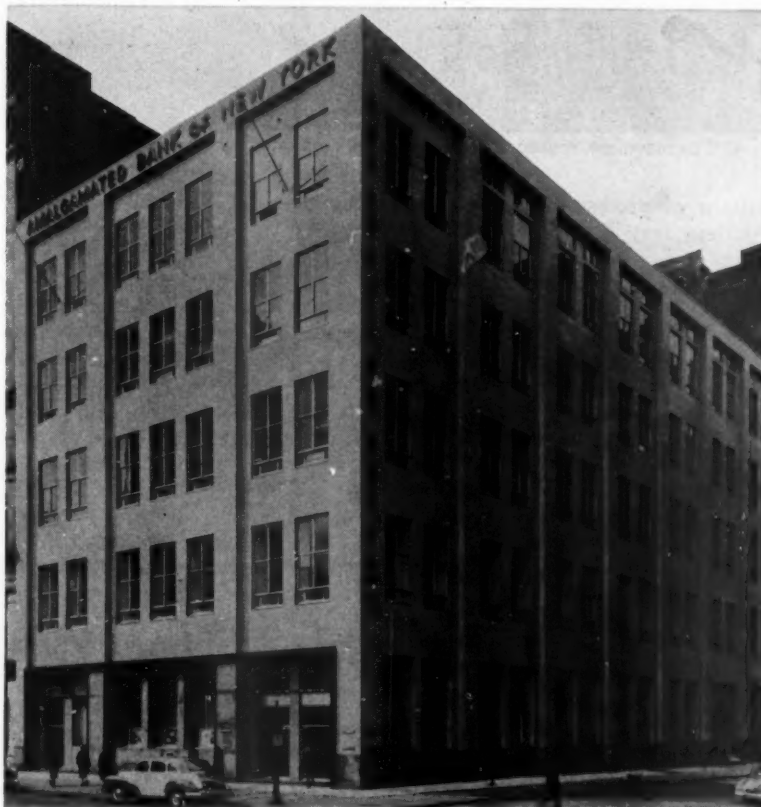
In addition, the union has set up four large modern health centers for the 100 per cent ambulatory care of approximately 100,000 members in New York, Philadelphia and Chicago. Through these centers, union members receive the best of medical attention from highly trained doctors, using modern and extensive medical equipment.

THROUGHOUT our history we have been inspired by the broad vision of our first president, Sidney Hillman,



The union label is pushed constantly by the Amalgamated.

who died in 1946 after thirty-two years in harness. Hillman understood that the well-being of clothing workers would largely depend on the stability of our industry, and under his leadership the Amalgamated and the men's clothing industry established a



The union's banks in New York and Chicago were established to meet the needs of working people. Their assets exceed \$100,000,000.

The Amalgamated pioneered in low-cost cooperative housing, putting up these buildings in 1927.



The union has proved that slums can be eradicated. It has sponsored a total of 2,500 housing units.

pattern of productive and peaceful relations that goes back more than thirty years.

One of the keys to our relationship is our system of arbitration, which was first established following the famous Hart Schaffner and Marx strike in Chicago in 1910. Ever since that time arbitration has been a regular feature of our contracts. Many noted arbitrators, including John Williams, James Mullenbach, Harry Millis, William Leiserson and George W. Taylor, have served and continue to serve our industry.

Hillman also realized that the welfare of clothing workers meant more than higher wages and shorter hours, and many of our pioneering activities have stemmed from a desire to go beyond the usual boundaries of bread-and-butter unionism, to help build better lives for clothing workers outside of the shop.

For example, in 1927, in New York

City, the union built the first low-cost cooperative housing developments in the nation, and in 1930 we were the first organization to clear a slum when we erected modern apartments on the site of a rundown neighbor-

hood on New York's Lower East Side. By now the union has sponsored 2,500 living units, and today many of the slums of New York and elsewhere are being cleared for similar housing, much of it built by unions.



The Clothing Workers have established modern health centers.



Sidney Hillman Foundation perpetuates his ideals of public service. Senator Morse of Oregon receives most recent award from President Potofsky.

Thirty years ago the average worker had no institution from which he could obtain a loan at low interest rates, and no banking institution existed which catered to the needs of working people. The Amalgamated banks in New York and Chicago, established in the 1920s, today are sound banking institutions, with assets of more than \$100,000,000 and dedicated, as at the time they opened, to filling the banking needs of working men and women.

Hillman understood, too, that the many achievements we had won over the bargaining table and on the picket line could be taken away by legislative action, and so he led the way in developing labor's political action. It was under his impetus, too, that the Amalgamated fought so hard for the first wage and hour bill in 1937-38, and we have continued to play our part in the battle to maintain the minimum wage at a decent level ever since.

Hillman recognized also that the welfare of clothing workers depended in large part on the welfare of other workers and on the welfare of the nation and of the world. Over the years, even when we were in our own infancy, we have supported with men and money the organizing efforts of our fellow unionists, notably in textiles, autos and steel. We have participated in the major philanthropic drives of the nation, and have sup-

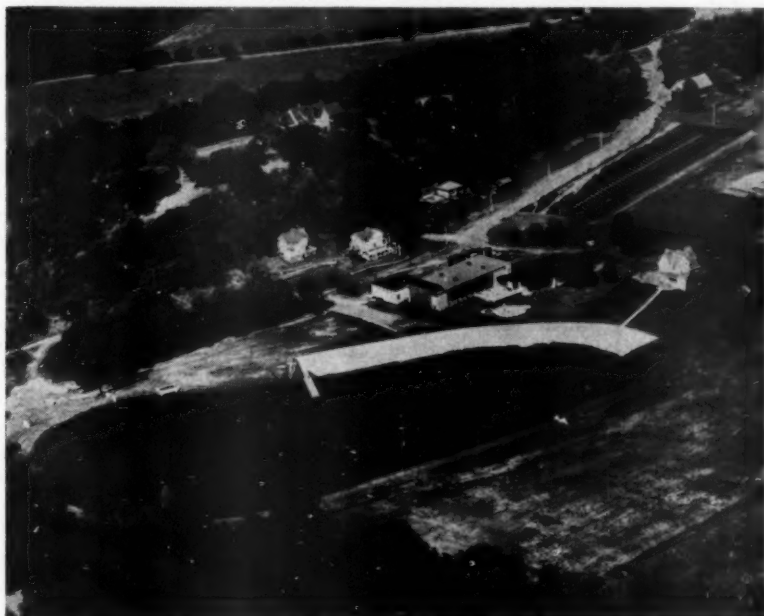
ported fellow trade unionists in Italy, Israel and elsewhere in their twin struggle against poverty and Communist imperialism.

The unity of labor has always meant much to us, so we have played a leading part in the efforts finally leading to the merger of the AFL and the CIO, and have given full support to the ICFTU and other international organizations bent on democracy, security and peace.

In memory of Sidney Hillman, we established the Sidney Hillman Foundation, to perpetuate his ideals of public service. In the past nine years we have made grants of more than \$300,000 for scholarships, lectureships, medical and academic research, and grants-in-aid. The Foundation has honored such outstanding leaders as President Truman, Senator Herbert H. Lehman, Frank Graham, Oscar Ewing, Bishop Bernard J. Sheil and Senator Wayne L. Morse through its annual award for meritorious public service, and we have provided encouragement for socially conscious authors and writers through our prize award program.

It is a long, rich and full story, this story of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, and one that is difficult to compress into a few columns of type. The growth of our union, from its poverty-stricken beginnings to its present strength and responsibility, is a tribute to our American democracy, but while our achievement could only have happened in a climate of opportunity such as ours, we feel that we, like the rest of labor, have contributed to the nation as a whole. Because through our union and the institutions it has built, the hundreds of thousands of workers in our industry have won dignity, independence and security and been given the strength to play their full part in our universal search for peace and prosperity.

Beautiful Pennsylvania estate has been converted into a recreational and cultural center for members of the union and their families.



Old Cry Is Raised Again

By ANDREW J. BIEMILLER

THE old battle cry, "put the unions under the anti-trust laws," is again being raised. Various organizations, including the National Association of Manufacturers and the United States Chamber of Commerce, have made such proposals to Congress.

The argument is a familiar one. Unions have grown so big, it is asserted, that they constitute a danger to the success of our free enterprise system. The argument runs that anti-trust laws now apply only to business. This type of argument has been made for more than half a century. Although it has a plausible ring, it is as fraudulent as a \$3 bill.

The new call for the application of the anti-trust laws to labor unions, like similar cries in the past, ignores the bitter pages in American history reflecting use of anti-trust legislation to suppress legitimate union activities.

The Sherman Anti-Trust Act was passed in 1890. At that time the American Federation of Labor was only nine years old, and trade unions were just beginning to assume a form adequate to represent the working people of America. The Congressional debate which preceded passage of the Sherman Act showed clearly that the lawmakers' intent was solely to curb the abuses of big business combinations. There was no reference to unions in the debate, nor was there any reference to unions in the text of the legislation. Senators and Congressmen who were supporters of labor voted for the Sherman Act.

Despite these facts, in 1893 a federal court in Louisiana ruled that a strike of draymen in New Orleans constituted an illegal restraint of interstate commerce under the terms of the Sherman Act. In enjoining the draymen's strike, the court concluded that Congress, in legislating against restraint of trade, had acted so broadly that, whatever the source of the restraint, an injunction against it could be issued under the Sherman Act. Thereafter the courts frequently availed themselves of the injunctive power under the Sherman Act in many types of labor disputes.



MR. BIEMILLER

In the Danbury Hatters' case, the Supreme Court held that a nationwide boycott of non-union hats initiated by the Hatters Union violated the Sherman Act. The law made no distinction among various types of contracts, the court said, and any contract which might result in a restraint of trade was illegal under the Sherman Act.

In 1956 it is hard to realize the force with which the decision in the Danbury Hatters' case burst upon the trade union movement. Here was a small union which, conducting a peaceful action, merely urged its members and sympathizers not to purchase the products of an anti-union hat concern. Nevertheless, the Hatters were deemed guilty under the Sherman Act. The funds of the union were confiscated and, when these were insufficient to pay the enormous fine which had been levied against the union, the homes and life savings of members of the union were seized.

Shocked by the Supreme Court's decision in this case, the organized labor movement launched an active campaign to show Congress and the public that there was a very wide gulf between action necessary to curb abuses perpetrated by big business combinations and the action that had actually been taken to stifle union organization.

Four decades ago, when the Clayton Act was under consideration in Congress, labor succeeded in persuad-

ing the lawmakers to include Section 6, stating clearly that the labor of a human being was not a commodity or article of commerce. This action was supplemented by the language of Section 20, which was designed to remove the power of the federal courts to issue injunctions in cases involving labor disputes.

However, anti-union employers were able to find a way around the Clayton Act safeguards. With the cooperation of the courts, the anti-union employers succeeded in getting these safeguards so diluted that the Clayton Act appeared to mean merely that workers had the legal right to organize into trade unions. It did not mean, according to the courts, that various types of union activity were protected against the injunction process. And so the anti-trust laws continued to be used to break strikes and harass workers.

Abuses of the injunction power were finally curbed in 1932 with the passage of the Norris-LaGuardia Act. The purpose of this law was to protect union activity from government by injunction. Norris-LaGuardia banned injunctions in "any controversy concerning terms or conditions of employment * * * regardless of whether or not the disputants stand in the proximate relation of employer and employee."

In 1940 and 1941, the U.S. Department of Justice made new efforts to use anti-trust laws against trade unions. This drive led to a series of Supreme Court decisions on the issue. Perhaps the most important principle enunciated by the Supreme Court was that when a union acts alone in behalf of the interests of its members, its activities do not fall under the anti-trust laws, which are designed for a fundamentally different purpose, the maintenance of competition among business enterprises.

Many of the protections finally achieved for union activity in the Norris-LaGuardia Act and the Wagner Act were negated by the passage of the Taft-Hartley Act in 1947. Because of that law, various types of union activity are again subject to govern-

ment action. Once again injunctions against unions are being issued. And yet, not satisfied with the penalties and the restrictions imposed upon organized labor by the Taft-Hartley Act, anti-union employers are seeking to open additional areas for court action against unions. If these anti-union employers should succeed, the resulting application of anti-trust laws to unions would offer untold opportunities for the stifling of traditional, peaceful and proper union activities.

Unions of working people are fundamentally different from business enterprises and cannot be treated in the same way for purposes of anti-trust legislation. Business enterprises and labor unions are distinctly different types of organizations. They differ in makeup, functions and objectives. Basically, a business enterprise represents an investment of capital—money. A labor union, on the other hand, is an organization of human beings—people. A business enterprise handles products. It buys and sells goods. But the central concern of a union is human beings and their welfare. A union is concerned with the labor of human beings and the terms under which it shall be performed.

The prime objective of a business enterprise is profit. The success of a business is measured by the financial return on its investment. In sharp contrast, a labor union's objective is protection and aid for workers. The success of a union is measured by the extent to which it can maintain and improve the working conditions and living standards of human beings, the men and women who are the members of the union.

The differences between businesses and unions are vital differences. They go to the very heart of the distinction our society draws between the impersonal dealings of business and the personal, human nature of unions.

This distinction was described by Samuel Gompers in 1914 in these clearcut terms:

"The principle [that the labor of a human being is not a commodity or article of commerce] is the basis of industrial liberty. It distinguishes between the labor power of a human being who produces an article and the thing which he produces.

"In brief, the thing upon which that principle is justified is as follows: Men and women are not of the same

nature as the things they make. Labor power is not a product. It is ability to produce. The products of labor may be bought and sold without affecting the freedom of the one who produces or owns them, but the labor power of an individual cannot be separated from his living body. Regulation of and conditions affecting relations under which labor power is used are a part of the lives and the bodies of men and women.

"Laws which apply the same regulation to workers and to the products made by workers are based upon the principle that there is no difference between men and things. That theory denies workers the consideration and the rights given to human beings. It denies the freedom and protection of free men and women."

We should not permit this fundamental distinction to be obscured or forgotten. Let us not be led astray by the propaganda of anti-union employers who urge application of business anti-trust laws to union activities.

While union membership has increased during the past twenty years, the labor movement cannot be considered "monopolistic," nor does its strength create any threat to America's free enterprise system.

THOSE who are agitating for the extension of anti-trust laws to unions make constant references to what they choose to call "giant unions" and "the monopolistic power of unions." These inaccurate phrases are used repeatedly in an effort to delude some of the public into believing that it might make sense to apply anti-trust laws to "union trusts."

It is true, of course, that union membership and financial resources have increased since the days of the depression. But the growth of unions must be kept in proper perspective. The total financial resources of all unions combined has been liberally estimated as perhaps as high as \$1 billion. This figure, standing alone, is highly misleading. Organized labor's financial resources are not under the direction or control of any one organization. Labor is not centrally controlled. The American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations is made up of almost 150 separate national and international unions. Each one of these unions determines its own policies. The national and international unions

are made up of local unions. There are more than 60,000 locals, and they are largely autonomous. The various unions do not act as a single unit. Each controls its own finances.

The American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations no more controls the separate treasuries of its numerous affiliated organizations than the U.S. Chamber of Commerce controls the assets of its member corporations.

It is interesting to note that, if the total financial resources of all unions were to be divided among the more than 16,000,000 union members, there would perhaps be as much as \$60 per member—probably less than one week's wages per member. Far more significant, of course, is the fact that the financial resources of organized labor in no way begin to match those of business. For example, the combined market value of corporate stock at the end of 1954, according to the Securities and Exchange Commission, amounted to about \$268 billion. In contrast, the total resources of all American unions amount to far less than one-half of one per cent of that sum. The total resources of all unions combined do not even begin to match those of individual large corporations. The earnings and assets of General Motors alone are far in excess of the accumulated finances of all the unions, national and local, affiliated with the AFL-CIO.

Free enterprise in America is in no way endangered by the activities of organized labor. Rather, organized labor is a staunch and consistent supporter of free enterprise. To the extent that organized labor has been successful in its objective of protecting wage-earners and improving American living standards, it has played a significant and most constructive role in strengthening our free enterprise system.

Gains in union membership and advances in living standards have not been harmful to business. These gains have not been achieved at the expense of business. The plain fact is that labor's advances have gone hand in hand with the expanding prosperity of business. It would be ironic, therefore, if an anti-union segment of industry were to succeed in muzzling union effectiveness by an extension of the anti-trust laws to trade unions under the guise of "defending the free enterprise system."

Our Fight Against **FILTHY POULTRY**

By **PATRICK E. GORMAN**
*Secretary-Treasurer, Amalgamated Meat Cutters
and Butcher Workmen of North America*

FILTHY and diseased poultry will be driven from the market as a result of a public service campaign launched by organized labor. Leading the fight to assure consumers wholesome poultry, unions are acting on one of the nation's most important current health needs.

A variety of public health conscious groups and individuals have from time to time demanded an end to the scandalous flow of garbage emanating from some poultry processing plants. But their cries were inaudible and ineffective until labor came into this consumer battle.

Today legislation is in the making both in Congress and in some state legislatures. Heading the drive for enactment is the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen. But vigorously aiding and supporting it are the AFL-CIO and hundreds of international unions, locals, state federations, state industrial union councils, city central labor unions and city industrial union councils.

The campaign is certainly an important one for the welfare of the nation. The "fast buck" element of the poultry processing industry is sending literally millions of diseased, contaminated and adulterated chickens and other poultry to stores each year.

Chiselers and "fast buck" boys exist in every industry, of course. But, uniquely, in poultry processing they can sell garbage virtually unhampered. They can maintain rodent-infested, refuse-littered and filth-encrusted plants. They can doctor up the looks of sore-bearing and decay-



MR. GORMAN

ing chickens and offer these as healthful products to the public.

All this, and worse, is possible because virtually no adequate poultry inspection for wholesomeness exists. The Department of Agriculture operates a voluntary inspection program, but it covers only about 21 per cent of poultry in interstate commerce. And the program does an ineffective job on even this fraction. State laws are few and generally inadequate.

The results of this situation are horrifying. The Public Health Service reports that an average of one-fourth to one-third of the cases of food poisoning reported each year are due to poultry or poultry products. In 1953 poultry was responsible for 44 per cent of the outbreaks attributed to

foods other than milk and milk products—4,403 poultry cases out of a total of 9,914.

Man can catch no less than thirty-four diseases from poultry. Some twenty-six are diseases with which the poultry itself can be infected and are transmissible to man. These include the pneumonia-like and sometimes deadly psittacosis, the virus Newcastle Disease, the infection salmonellosis and a variety of fungus infections.

Cyclically, some of these diseases cause major outbreaks. In 1954, in Texas, psittacosis spread among turkey flocks and from them to humans. Some two hundred cases of human illness were reported and one or two deaths have been attributed to the epidemic.

The other eight diseases are carried by chickens and turkeys to man. The poultry does not catch paratyphoid fever, amebic dysentery or infectious hepatitis. But when processed in filthy surroundings, it picks up these germs and can infect humans with them.

Because it has tens of thousands of members working in poultry processing plants, the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen long ago became concerned about the consumer and industrial health problems posed by the operations of some processors. Poultry workers would relate stories of how their stomachs were turned by the stench of decomposed poultry; how chickens' wings and legs were sent to market even though the body of the birds clearly indicated tuberculosis and other diseases; how sores were cut off chickens and the

bodies of these diseased birds were puffed up to make them look palatable.

"Do something about it!" was a frequent demand of the poultry workers. When the Texas psittacosis outbreak occurred, these demands became especially frequent.

The international union, after careful consideration of the problem, told its locals to work for adequate sanitary standards in their plants, if these did not already exist. If talks with management brought no result, the locals were given the right to strike to enforce basic sanitary safeguards.

But this solved few problems. The organized plants are generally run by the more enlightened processors and are generally operated under modern and clean conditions. Anyway, the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen could not solve the problem of diseased poultry going to the consumer, nor was it the proper agency to do so.

What was needed, we realized, was mandatory inspection of poultry on a federal, state and local level. Inspection had torn disease and filth from the one-time jungle of the meat packing industry. It could do the same in the poultry industry.

With these facts in mind, the union began its large-scale educational campaign to enlist support for federal, state and municipal legislation. In pamphlets, articles and conversations, the officers and staff of the Amalgamated told of the need for mandatory inspection to anyone and everyone who would read or listen.

In 1955, Senator Paul Douglas and Congressman Melvin P. Price introduced resolutions in the Senate and House calling for an investigation of the poultry processing industry. These resolutions were aimed at the reenactment of the classical pattern of meat inspection legislation. Congressional committees would be so shocked by the scandalous conditions they found during their investigation, it was believed, that they would urge poultry inspection legislation upon Congress.

But the resolutions languished in committee. No investigation was forthcoming. A new approach was necessary. It was provided this year.

Senator James Murray of Montana

Filth is the rule in many poultry plants. Change will come when a strong law is passed.

and seven other Senators introduced S. 3176, spelling out the framework of an actual inspection system. The bill was introduced in the House of Representatives by Congressman J. Percy Priest of Tennessee (H.R. 8599) and Congressman Don Hayworth (H.R. 9006).

These bills would offer excellent protection to consumers and poultry workers. They would make effective and adequate poultry inspection a reality and rid interstate commerce of poultry unfit for human consumption.

According to the measures, the Food and Drug Administration would set up a Poultry Inspection Service. This Service would inspect poultry both before and after slaughter. It would also enforce basic sanitary standards, established in rules supplementing the bill.

Healthy poultry would be marked as wholesome by the inspector and sent to market. But diseased birds would be destroyed under the inspector's supervision.

All poultry moving in interstate commerce would have to bear a tag showing it had been approved as wholesome. Stiff penalties would be provided for the violation of this and other provisions of the bill.

The fight to enact this legislation will not be an easy one. Strong, wealthy and determined opposition has already demonstrated that it wants to maintain the old system of "let the buyer beware." The men who are making profit out of the filth and disease peddled to the public are not willing to forego these ill-gotten gains in the future. They are not only fighting this legislation but are dup-



Poultry unfit for human consumption moves daily in interstate commerce. Effective inspection doesn't exist.

ing sincere groups into joining the opposition.

Many public health conscious organizations are lining up with labor for the bills. The General Federation of Women's Clubs and the National Farmers Union are two notable examples. But organized labor can and must continue to lead this battle to safeguard the consumer. The Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen realize this. We shall certainly do all in our power to bring the drive for a poultry inspection law to a successful fruition.

The efforts on behalf of this legislation by all trade union officers and members are vital. Through letters and personal contacts, we should convince Congressmen, state legislators and organizations of the need to support the inspection bills.

Our actions will speed the day when families can eat all poultry with assurance. We can wipe out one of the nation's top consumer health menaces and bring about a new day in American public health.





Carrying signs, 300 New York City teachers traveled to Albany to press fight for collective bargaining and salary increases.

Labor NEWS BRIEFS

►Fifty members of Local 1277 of the Painters recently volunteered their time and skills to paint the exterior of the Eugene, Ore., Crippled Children's Hospital School. Paint for the project was donated by Local 1273 of the Carpenters. Ladders, equipment and refreshments were supplied by the Painting Contractors Association of Eugene.

►The Connecticut State Industrial Union Council and the Connecticut Federation of Labor have joined forces in an effort to save rent controls. They have established a joint committee. The housing shortage continues acute in Connecticut. Low-income families now occupy most of the 350,000 rental units in thirty-two cities and towns which are in danger of being decontrolled.

►Members of Local 381, Paper Workers, have achieved three weeks vacation after seven years of service in a new accord with the Einson-Freeman Company, Fairlawn, N. J. The new three-year pact also calls for wage increases, ten paid holidays and other benefits.

►Local 1199, Retail Drug Employees, New York City, has presented a \$5000 check to aid R. L. Drew, undertaker at Clarksdale, Miss., victimized by the White Citizens Council. A bank canceled a \$3000 loan on Mr. Drew's home because he opposed school segregation.

►Local 64 of the United Rubber Workers has gained higher hourly wages in an agreement with the Pacific Tire and Rubber Company, Oakland, Calif. The pact calls for eight paid holidays, adjustment of intraplant inequities and an improved vacation schedule.

►A package increase of 18 cents an hour has been obtained by Local 536 of the Retail Clerks in a new agreement with the Kroger Company, Peoria, Ill. The contract covers twenty-seven stores and is spread across five classifications.

►A substantial wage increase and other gains have been won by Local 150 of the United Furniture Workers at the Milwaukee Chair Company, Milwaukee.

►Local 76, Building Service Employees, is one of the unions represented at Disneyland in Anaheim, Calif. Disneyland is now 100 per cent union.

►Wage increases have been obtained by Local 235, United Furniture Workers, in a one-year contract with the Osborne Brush Manufacturing Company, Henderson, Ky.



J. Albert Woll (above) has been appointed AFL-CIO general counsel. Arthur J. Goldberg will serve as special counsel, it was announced.

►President Emil Rieve of the Textile Workers Union of America has announced that he will not be a candidate for reelection. He plans to continue as a member of the AFL-CIO Executive Council, he said. Mr. Rieve, who has headed the union since it was founded, said his health no longer would permit the "constant exertion, long hours and nervous strain which the presidency demands."

►Local 379, Chemical Workers, has signed a first contract with the Standard Chemical Company, Beauharnois, Quebec, Canada. The union obtained a general wage increase, a pension plan and additional fringe benefits.

►Local 1190 of the Steelworkers, Wheeling, W. Va., has set up a fund providing two annual \$500 scholarships at Steubenville College. The college will set aside half of the money paid by the union and will eventually establish a third scholarship.

►A 10-cent hourly wage increase and an additional paid holiday have been won by the Amalgamated Clothing Workers at eighteen Quebec companies. The settlement came after a three-day strike. President Jacob S. Potofsky led the union's negotiators at the bargaining session in New York City.

►Triple pay for any work performed on Christmas Day or New Year's is a new benefit gained by members of Local 442, Chemical Workers, in a contract renewal with the Electro Refractories and Abrasives Company.

►The rubber workers have obtained increased pension and insurance benefits for 2,500 employees of the Richardson Company at plants in Illinois, Indiana, Texas, Utah, Georgia and New Jersey.

►Higher hourly pay has been won by Local 432, United Furniture Workers, in a new contract negotiated with the Aladdin Company, Bay City, Mich.

►The Paper Workers have won a representation election at a new Rayonier mill, Jessup, Ga.

►Local 373, Retail Clerks, has won an NLRB representation election at Montgomery Ward, Napa, Calif.



AFL-CIO President George Meany met with President Giovanni Gronchi of Italy when the latter visited Washington. U.S. labor has always encouraged those Italians who strive to build a prosperous democracy.

►On the advice of his physician, President Frank Hull of the Operative Potters has resigned his office. E. L. Wheatley, first vice-president, has assumed the duties of acting president. A member of the union since 1915, Mr. Wheatley in his early days at the trade traveled from coast to coast and worked in a number of pottery towns.

►More than 400 editorial, circulation and building employees of the Toronto Telegram will benefit under a three-year contract signed with the Toronto Newspaper Guild. Up to six months of paid sick leave, the check-off and maintenance of membership are provided, in addition to pay increases and a 37½-hour week by the end of the year.

►The United Auto Workers have gained wage increases and other benefits at Lear, Inc., maker of aircraft electronic equipment, Grand Rapids, Mich. The union has won a company-paid pension plan providing \$2.25 a month per year of service, fully vested for all workers with ten years' seniority, regardless of age.

►Wage boosts of from 10 to 25 cents per hour, retroactive to last June, have been written into a new agreement between Local 594, Retail Clerks, and the Center Supermarket, Toledo, Ohio.

►Local 97, Public Employees, has obtained higher pay and fringe benefits in a new agreement at Waukesha, Wis.



MR. McDONALD

Oregon Reports With Pride

By J. D. McDONALD and JAMES T. MARR

*President and Executive Secretary, Respectively,
Oregon State Federation of Labor*

CHARTERED in 1902, the Oregon State Federation of Labor is now in its second half-century of service to the working people of our state. Year by year, the State Federation of Labor has kept pace with the advances and changes in Oregon's industrial and social relations. In a number of instances we have led the way.

Our record of participation in public affairs is a lengthy one. But this is not to say that the State Federation of Labor has neglected labor's bread-and-butter problems.

Today, where can one draw a line between the workingman's bread-and-butter problems and the vital affairs of community, state and nation? Such is the complexity of modern society that it is all but impossible to draw such a line.

Oregon has 675,000 gainfully employed citizens. About 250,000 of them are members of AFL-CIO unions. Trade unionists and their families comprise a large part of the state's total population.

The Oregon State Federation of Labor has held annual conventions since its establishment. The policies and programs are set by the delegates at the conventions. Between conventions the affairs of the Federation are in the hands of an Executive Board representing all areas of the state and an elected executive secretary. All officers are elected for two-year terms.

President McDonald has served since 1943. Executive Secretary Marr, who is the executive officer in charge, has served since 1944. The executive secretary has two assistants. One is the president of the State Federation of Labor, who is employed as a full-time field man. The other assistant is the director of research and education. The Oregon State Federation of Labor also has a union label director.

By direction of the 1955 convention, employment on a full-time basis has been given to an able woman whose job is to promote political education among the feminine members of the families of trade unionists. The convention authorized a one-cent increase in per capita tax to carry out this important work.

The union label director of the State Federation of Labor is responsible for putting on union label displays at the state fair and also at county fairs. Our union label exhibits at fairs are proving to be a most worthwhile investment. Union employers as well as the members of our organizations are beginning to see the value of union label promotion.

Oregon labor gives a great deal of attention to the field of legislation. Substantial gains have been made in workmen's compensation and unemployment insurance. In 1953 we successfully beat down attempts to adopt so-called "right to work" legislation. That same year Oregon labor tried but failed to prevent the passage of an anti-picketing law. Although the the state's highest court branded the

most vicious part of the law unconstitutional, other bad features of the anti-picketing law continue in force.

If in 1956 the working people of Oregon can elect more friendly legislators, repeal of the statute may result in 1957. This law has been a definite boon to lawyers, but experience has shown that it has failed completely to serve the best interests of either workers or employers.

FOR many years the Oregon State Federation of Labor has been active in the fields of public education and taxation. The Federation's work in regard to taxation has played an important part in giving Oregon one of the few comparatively progressive tax systems in the nation. Attempts to foist a sales tax upon the citizens of our state have been defeated at the polls five times.

A State Federation of Labor representative assigned specifically to taxation and educational affairs is in constant attendance at the meetings of the legislature's taxation and education committees during the sessions of the law-making body. Between sessions of the legislature this representative follows the work of interim committees in the two areas.

The Oregon State Federation of Labor pioneered in college scholarship awards for high school students. Last year was the ninth in which students were given help in meeting their college expenses. We gave three \$500 scholarships and made three additional awards of \$100 each.

All the scholarship contestants are judged on their records as students

and on their knowledge and understanding of unions and management and of the roles they play, singly and together, in the American economy. The contest judges are always educators of the highest standing in the community and are not in any way connected with the operation of trade unions. Our annual scholarship program is made possible by wholly voluntary contributions by local unions affiliated with the State Federation.

How are Oregon's unions progressing in the organization of the unorganized? The anti-picketing law has slowed effective organizational activity, especially in the service trades. However, even the service unions have been able to hold the gains they had before the law curbing picketing was enacted in 1953.

Back in 1939 the Oregon State Federation of Labor offered to sit down with the employers and arrive at equitable settlements of our differences around the conference table instead of the courtroom. This spade-work has paid. Most employer groups in our state deal fairly and honestly with the unions to which working people belong. There are a few exceptions, of course.

Oregon labor's organizational weak spots are found chiefly among department store clerks, office workers, teachers and public employes (especially outside of Portland) and in banking, insurance and related fields.

In 1954 the working people of our state showed a determination to take a very active part in politics. As a result of this determination, for the first time in forty years a liberal Democrat was elected to the United State Senate from Oregon. This year we predict that these same voters, plus the newly registered and those who will have switched their registrations, will reelect that great liberal, Senator Wayne Morse. No difficulty is expected in reelecting Congresswoman Edith Green of the Third District.

As for other Congressional tests in this year's balloting, no predictions can be made now because it is not yet known who the candidates will be. But in every contest the working people will be backing those who deserve support and opposing those whose records show that they are against labor's objectives.

Wage-wise, Oregon is near the top



MR. MARR

of the nation for production workers. Unionized employes in our state do a good day's work for a day's pay. Sound relations between unions and employers are an important contributing factor. In local union elections in Oregon, the members of our affiliated organizations, in almost all instances, have chosen excellent officers.

We have had few major strikes. On the other hand, our unions have demonstrated that, while always preferring to settle differences at the bargaining table, they can be tough when the occasion obviously demands it.

We are certain that good times are in store for all the trade unionists of our state in the days to come. Surely much more will be accomplished in Oregon, as elsewhere in the nation, now that the merger of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations has been effected. We expect little difficulty in working out merger plans

in our state. When the amalgamation has been completed in Oregon, every labor official will be able to concentrate on the problems of those we represent and on the vital task of organization of the unorganized workers.

The Pacific Northwest has grown tremendously during the past decade. We will experience still greater growth if the federal government again recognizes the need for federal power development in a way that will utilize major streams for multi-purpose development. Federal power development has provided the base for the development and expansion of private industrial enterprise in the Pacific Northwest. The record clearly shows that, as industry has grown, the private utilities have prospered.

The executive secretary of the Oregon State Federation of Labor is also the president of the National Hells Canyon Association. He has headed this group for more than two years. It has the support not only of organized labor in Oregon but also of unions throughout the Pacific Northwest and some distant areas. The Hells Canyon Association is geared to carry the federal-versus-"partnership" development fight to the highest court in the land if that is what should be required to preserve for all time the nation's best remaining natural multi-purpose site.

Members of organized labor who have selected Oregon as their adopted state, as well as our native-born wage-earners who know no other state, are united in their belief that Oregon is the finest state in which to live and work.

Eisenhower's Economic Report

(Continued from Page 5)

hardly any examination of the social objectives of economic growth. Statistical indexes of past economic performance—and projections into the future—have their relative importance in economic analysis. But they are tools and not ends in themselves.

The function of our economic system is to serve the welfare of the American people and of the nation, within the limits of our manpower, ingenuity and natural resources. Social and moral considerations have a proper and important place in economic policy determinations.

Stringent budgetary limitations are imposed by the report on much-

needed human welfare and public service programs. Such programs and the social needs that make their fulfillment urgent are approached in the report from the penny-pinching viewpoint of an accountant's profit-and-loss balance sheet.

A rich and expanding economy makes it possible to achieve significant progress in meeting the backlog of welfare and public service needs. Such programs can be gotten under way without long delays if the desire and the will are present to do so. It is necessary to have federal leadership and guidance from the executive and legislative branches of

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government—not rhetoric followed by inadequate program proposals.

Despite the general improvement of economic and social conditions during the past twenty years and the expansion of the national economy since the end of World War II, the problem of low-income families persists. According to the Census Bureau, in 1954 there were 20,914,000 American families and unrelated individuals with annual incomes of \$3000 a year or less—over 40 per cent of the total number of 51,557,000 families and unrelated individuals. This is a national human problem that requires immediate positive action.

ACTION by this session of Congress to extend the coverage of the minimum wage law to working men and women in retail trade, laundries, hotels, restaurants, large-scale farms and other unprotected trades and services would be one long step toward lifting income levels and living conditions of low-income families. These families are in much greater need of government assistance than stockholders, for whom special tax privileges were provided.

There is also need to adopt a measure to provide disability insurance, under the social security system, to workers temporarily or permanently disabled, instead of compelling them to wait for OASI benefits at the age of 65. The OASI eligibility age for women should likewise be reduced below the present age requirement of 65.

There is urgent need, too, for a comprehensive national health insurance program to provide some measure of protection against the financial hazards of illness.

A survey of school facilities in 1951 revealed that 33 per cent of our school buildings were unsatisfactory in terms of structure, location, safety or sanitation. Approximately one out of five school children were housed in buildings rated as unsatisfactory. This situation is not improving and inadequate school facilities have become widespread. Woefully inadequate educational facilities will remain until we can get a bold program of federal aid for school construction—something considerably more than the Administration has recommended.

School structures are only one part of the social deficit in the field of education. There is urgent need for

thousands of qualified and properly paid teachers in the nation's school system, attainable only with federal aid.

According to an article in the May, 1955, issue of *Public Health Reports*, the U.S. needed 1,926,600 civilian hospital beds in 1955. There were only 1,275,072 beds in existence, of which 176,257 were listed as unacceptable on the basis of fire and health hazards. The deficit of civilian hospital beds in 1955 was 838,745. The need is greatest in mental hospitals and chronic hospitals.

America needs 2,000,000 new urban, rural and farm homes each year, to supply adequate dwellings for American families—500,000 a year to replace substandard units, 100,000 annually to replace losses and 1,400,000 yearly to meet the needs of additional households.

Upper-income families and some middle-income families can obtain adequate housing under private and currently prevalent financing terms. To meet the housing needs of the majority of middle-income families, a federal program of stimulating private and cooperative housing construction is required.

The housing needs of low-income families can be met only through a program of public housing. The present trickle of public housing—less than 20,000 non-farm housing starts per year in 1954 and 1955—cannot even begin to meet a minute portion of the housing needs of low-income families.

There are many additional needs that should be met in the years ahead—in road construction and maintenance, for example, and in the conservation and development of our natural resources.

An economy as large and productive as ours can go a long way toward meeting these and similar needs. The efforts to do so need not and should not be based on partisan politics. Positive leadership and guidance should be forthcoming from the executive and legislative branches of our federal government.

Conclusion

In summary:

(1) The President's economic report fails to comply with the requirements of the Employment Act, by omitting an examination of "foreseeable trends" in the level of economic activities and by omitting any estimate of employment, production and purchasing power levels needed to attain full employment in 1956 and the period ahead.

(2) The report's analysis of economic developments in 1953-55 ignores the important contribution of the built-in stabilizers—trade union effectiveness and social welfare legislation.

(3) Although the report deals at length with the phantom threat of inflationary demand—in an attempt to justify a general "hard money" policy—it avoids any discussion of the 3.5 per cent increase in the wholesale prices of industrial goods during the last six months of 1955 and the increase in unit profit margins.

(4) The report indicates that a small amount of economic expansion is expected in 1956. The President's budget message, however, implies no economic growth this year and rising unemployment. The Administration has thus far failed to present any adequate explanation of this apparent inconsistency.

(5) The report's brief but well-stated recognition of the importance of meeting social welfare and public service needs is followed by inadequate and half-hearted Administration program proposals. The Administration's suggested programs are stringently limited by short-sighted and penny-pinching budgetary considerations.

It is essential that federal programs to meet the nation's vast needs in the field of social welfare and public services get under way. A rich and expanding economy, in peacetime, can take substantial forward strides toward meeting those needs.

FOR A BETTER CONGRESS



WHAT THEY SAY

Adlai E. Stevenson, former Governor of Illinois—There are two ways of



looking at America, at its future and at the role of government in meeting—yes, and in shaping—that future. One of these ways is to look at today with frequent side glances at yesterday—to think in terms of hanging on to what we have and staying where we are. I would speak for a different view of America. We live in a time of danger and a time of great hope. Whoever offers us complacency blinds us to the one and denies us the other. I suggest that there has never been a time when Americans were wholly satisfied. We are a people who have lived by our faith in greater tomorrows. In the march of our history we have learned that there can be no turning back and no standing still. Growth is the very order of our existence in America. We could survive, I think, almost anything except stagnation.

Estes Kefauver, Senator from Tennessee—The whole intention of the



Eisenhower Administration is to create an atmosphere favorable not just to business but to big business. We do not get to see much of the common man around Washington these days unless he comes to complain about something the Eisenhower Administration is doing to him. If the common man happens to be a farmer, he has a good deal to complain about. In every year of the Eisenhower Administration the farmer's income has fallen. More than a million farm families had to give up farming as a way of life. To Secretary Benson and his assistants, farming is a business and a big business at that. Although the small farmer operating a family-sized farm has little part in creating the sur-

pluses which have been allowed to hang over the market, he has been forced to take the brunt of the blame. The pressure on him of falling income on the one hand and higher prices for what he must buy on the other have mercilessly combined to force him to the wall. With imagination and with good will, those great surpluses could be turned into national assets. It is nothing less than scandalous that we are paying storage on huge amounts of food in a world where millions of people are hungry. Even here in the United States we could make worthwhile use of much of this food with a food allotment program. One of my major objectives is to work for just such a program.

David Dubinsky, president, International Ladies' Garment Workers Union—The



unity of American labor has opened a new chapter in the history of the working people of every country. This unity represents the greatest gathering of free labor forces in the free world. It opens up new opportunities for American labor to improve the conditions of its 16,000,000 members, to add more millions to its ranks and to win an increasing influence in the community. Labor—with one voice, with one organization, with one program—will be all the more powerful a force for serving mankind. The unity of American labor has equally great meaning for the workers of other countries. It means greater American labor efforts to help the new and weaker free trade unions of the Asian and African countries but recently liberated from colonialism. Above all, our unified American labor movement will prove a source of great hope and encouragement to the Soviet peoples, to the workers of the Soviet Union who have lost their right to organize into free trade unions, the right to strike and the right to vote in free-

dom. We of the unified labor movement are deeply concerned over this loss. It is a terrible blow to freedom everywhere. We feel that as long as the people behind the Iron Curtain do not enjoy liberty, our own freedom and the peace of the entire world are in grave danger. Our solidarity with the workers behind the Iron Curtain is no abstraction. It is no pious wish. It is no empty phrase. Our solidarity with them is living. It is real. Our solidarity with them is one of common love of freedom, peace and social justice. Liberty-loving labor everywhere has the same ideals and interests.

A. Philip Randolph, president, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters—



The fight for justice and freedom for minorities and labor is indivisible because freedom and justice are indivisible. Labor's and democracy's best answer to communism is to be true to itself—true to its traditions and struggles, its hopes and faiths. Democracy can only answer communism with a frank and honest recognition of the essential worth, value and equality of every human personality, without regard to race, color, religion, national origin or ancestry. The Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters realizes that the fight against racial discrimination and segregation cannot be separated from the fight against discrimination and hatred against all groups. Studies of prejudice unequivocally establish that, in the main, people who are prejudiced against one minority group are hostile to other minority groups. The grave question is which ideology—democracy or communism—will capture the imagination and minds of the teeming millions of the peoples of color in the United States, the West Indies, Africa, Asia and the isles of the sea. This is the issue. If we fail to build a bastion of freedom among the peoples of color of the Americas and the world and the workers everywhere outside the Soviet orbit, we may not be able to withstand the rising tides of red tyranny.

JOIN COPE TODAY

AFL-CIO AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST

An Interesting Proposal-II

TWO days later the big table near the windows in the Central High School cafeteria was the meeting place of the Junior Union executive board. When Jim Peterson, the president, walked over with his tray, he was deluged with questions from those awaiting him.

"Give me time," he pleaded. "I'll tell all if you just give me a chance."

Jim removed the food from his tray and sat down at the table.

"How did you like Jack Simpson, and what did he think of our sharing the dinner?" asked Ginny.

"Fine, and he's for it," responded Jim. "But hold your horses. Let me start at the beginning. Last night Jack Simpson from City High, Bob Anderson from Bishop High and myself representing our Central High Junior Union local met at the Community Library. We had a fine talk. We're in agreement about practically everything, so—" He quickly took a couple of bites of his sandwich.

"So what?" demanded Rosa.

"Let him swallow," said Ted. "Else we'll never know. He might die of starvation."

"I won't," said Jim, smiling. "But thanks for your concern over my welfare."

After a gulp of milk, Jim resumed his report.

"It's all set for Friday the 18th, in the main hall of the Labor Building. There will be about seventy-four from City, twenty-seven from Bishop and fifty or so from Central. That's about 150. Our idea for each local to bring enough food for themselves went over big. The three refreshment

committees are to meet and plan that part of it. Take note, Lucia and Carl."

Zippy, who had been listening with interest, asked:

"Jim, just what is the purpose of the Joint Council, and do you think it'll work?"

"Well, naturally, we didn't decide everything last night," Jim replied.

"We figured first of all it would be a way to get acquainted. Then we can see what develops. But we have in mind making it possible to have a few combined meetings each year, with special entertainment, speakers or projects. Mainly it will be a means of exchanging ideas and finding out how to work with other people besides the ones we see every day."

"I think it will work," declared Ted.

"Anyway, it will be a lot of fun to know the boys and girls from the other schools," put in Ginny.

"I think so, too," said Rosa. "My cousin says Bishop has lots of good kids."

"Well, before the bell rings there are a couple of other things," Jim said, pushing back his chair. "We will have to report on this at our regular meeting Saturday, and we should have our plans fairly well thought out. I feel sure the membership will be all for accepting the dinner bid and will go along on the refreshment idea. Let's all be prepared to really talk it up."

"There's the bell," said Lucia, gathering her books. "See you Saturday at the meeting, if not before."

Jim, Ted, Zippy and Rosa walked down the hall together as they had the same class the next period.

"We should really make a go of this," said Jim. "We can. There are so many ways of working out the plans that we can't do much more right now. Anyway, the rest of the members should have a chance to consider it."

Carl, who had stopped at the drinking fountain, overtook them.

"Lucia and I will go ahead and get in touch with the other two committees about the food," he said. "I'll give you a ring tonight, Jim."

On Saturday there was an enthusiastic crowd in the Junior Union meeting room when the president called the session to order. Rumors had spread quickly, and the prospect of the dinner on the 18th was the topic of conversation. Jim explained the whole proposition—the dinner, the Joint Council and what it would mean in the future to have such an organization among the three locals. Then there was discussion. When he called for a vote on whether or not to join with the other two school organizations for the purpose of forming a Joint Council, he was pleased to see that the members were unanimously in favor of participating in the venture.

"Since everybody is in favor, we may as well elect our three representatives today," said Jim. "They will meet with representatives from the other two locals and serve on the Joint Council Committee."

By the end of the meeting the Central High Junior Union was in readiness to share fully in the work of bringing the three Junior Unions together in a Joint Council.

Serious-minded
trade unionists
read
**LABOR'S
MAGAZINE**



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